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*Craftsmanship and meta-poetical reflection (I): the engraver's lathe and choral imagery from Pindar to the New Dithyramb**

Abstract

The recently discovered text that has been attributed to Posidippus has reopened the debate on the opposition/conflation of the arts of poet and engraver in ancient literature. In this paper I attempt to elucidate the emergence of technical expressions as a vehicle for meta-poetical reflection and programming by combining philological analysis and archaeology. Drawing on Homer's Shield of Achilles, Pindar is the first who develops the lathe metaphor to convey the motional, acoustic, and poetic dimension of a chorus performing his odes. This *choreia* imagery reached Euripides via the New Dithyramb and was satirised by Aristophanes. This glyptic image proves fundamental to reading Hellenistic and Augustan meta-poetical reflection, which will be analysed in a second part of this study.

Il testo recentemente scoperto e attribuito a Posidippo ha riaperto il dibattito sull'opposizione delle arti del poeta e dell'incisore nella letteratura antica. In questo articolo tento di chiarire l'emergere di espressioni tecniche come veicolo per la riflessione e la programmazione metapoetiche combinando analisi filologica e archeologia. Attingendo allo Scudo di Achille di Omero, Pindaro è il primo che sviluppa la metafora del tornio per trasmettere la dimensione movimentata, acustica e poetica di un coro che esegue le sue odi. Questa immaginazione corea raggiunse Euripide attraverso il Nuovo Ditirambo e fu satira da Aristofane. Questa immagine glittica si rivela fondamentale per la lettura della riflessione metapoetica ellenistica e augustea, che verrà analizzata in una seconda parte di questo studio

Σαφή καὶ στρόγγυλα, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτετόρνενται
(on a passage by Lysias)
Plato, *Phaedrus* 234e

The discovery of the Milan papyrus (*Pap. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309) constituted what is probably the most exciting find of the last few decades in the field of classical literature. The reconstruction and analysis of this text, which is dated to *ante quam* 180 BCE and contains a collection of hitherto unknown epigrams unanimously ascribed to Posidippus of Pella, have contributed to a reconsideration of some much-debated questions on ekphrastic epigram and opened up new perspectives concerning Hellenistic aesthetics and poetics. Soon after its edition, Hutchinson (2002, 2f.) provided a list of images that creates

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what he calls a ‘meta-poetical link’ between the small-scale artistry of the engraver in the *Lithika* section and that of the epigrammatist hunched over wax tablets. He also established connections with Latin literature, where the engraver’s lathe (*tornus*) seems to bear a particular relevance in the poetic reflections of Augustan poets¹.

The moment of ekphrasis, where the object described is given voice, life, motion, and craftsmanship metaphors, whose technical language describes the poetic medium, denotes a latent contest between skilled poetry and crafts in Greek tradition². This tension is already perceivable in the descriptions of the objects of delight generally termed δαίδαλα in archaic epic³. This concept evokes not only the mythical artisan Daedalus⁴ and the riches of Minoan Crete, but also the luxury Phoenician imports from the East⁵ displayed in the aristocratic courts where bards sang. Δαίδαλα are intricately-woven fabrics or items wrought in metal and wood (shields, jewels, chariots, goblets, furniture)⁶ which generally combine technical ability and precious materials. Their dazzling shine (αἴολος) is enhanced by the contrast of both colours and materials (ποικίλος)⁷. Their heterogeneous variegation also forms a harmonic whole (κόσμος). The superimposed decoration not only creates the illusion of vividness and motion, but also emanates an aura of divine power which wonders (θαῦμα ιδέσθαι), deceives (ἀπάτη), and awes the viewer⁸.

Even though songs and artefacts were never explicitly compared by Greek poets⁹, a considerable amount of the vocabulary, images and aesthetic experiences in Greek literature, either come from or are inspired by handicrafts. In this paper I will focus on one of the many craft images found in Classical literature¹⁰, the *tornus*, and the evidence of the intermedial¹¹ transference between toreutics and poetry. I understand ‘toreutics’ as any kind of figurative embellishment on any surface as the result of different techniques

¹ See part II (forthcoming) on Verg. *Ecl.* III 38: *torno facili*; Hor. *Ars* 441 *male tornatos... uersus*; Prop. II 3, 43: *angusto... torno*. The recent study on Augustan poetry by GUNDLACH (2019, 205-16) includes these *tornus* metaphors among poetological metal work imagery (*Schmieden, Drechseln, Feilen, Ziselieren*).

² A critical survey on ekphrasis can be found in SQUIRE (2015).

³ On the would-be etymological link between δαίδαλα and δέλτος ‘wax tablet’, Lat., *dolare* ‘carve’, ‘chop’, see FRISK (1973, 339f.), CHANTRAINE (1983, 246) and BEEKES (2010, 296f.).

⁴ A would-be derivative from δαίδαλα, not vice versa (see the name Tekton Harmonides below).

⁵ Such as the silver cup Achilles gives as a prize in *Il.* XXIII 741-45, wrought (τετυγμένον) by Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι. See also *Od.* XV 415-70 on Phoenician luxury (bronze, jewels) trade.

⁶ FRONTISI-DUCROUX (1975, 45-51); MORRIS (1992, 3-35).

⁷ This term comes from IE *peik-/pik-, ‘to mark, incise’ and is related to Lat. *pingere*. GRAND-CLÉMENT (2015, 410) defines ποικίλος as «the result of perfectly mastered craftsmanship, based on the inlaying and juxtaposition of varied material, the organizing patterns, or the meshing of coloured threads». A survey in Archaic literature in GIANNINI (2009).

⁸ FRONTISI-DUCROUX (1975, 66-79); HUNZINGER (2015, 425f.).

⁹ FORD (2002, 116).

¹⁰ HARRIOTT (1969, 92-104); NÜNLIST (1998, 83-125); GUNDLACH (2019, 203-41). On specific textile metaphors, see GALLET (1990, 9-176); FANFANI (2017 and 2018).

¹¹ Intermediality is conceived (RAJEVSKY 2002, 13, the translation here is my own) as «phenomena that exceed media boundaries and involve at least two usually distinct media»; summarised and applied to Latin literature in FABER (2018, 1-3).

(incision, engraving, embossing). Toreutics is what Pliny the Elder called *caelatura* (*Nat. XXXV 156*), and whose traditional reference was the Shield of Achilles. Due to its scope and length, this study is divided into two parts. In this first part I will trace the archaeology of the lathe, its evolution from a bow drill and the different varieties, purposes (drilling, edging, polishing, engraving, carving) and materials (wood, metal, ivory, stone, glass) worked with artistic intention. However, the bulk of this first section analyses the emergence of technical imagery in Pindar and its echoes in Euripides' New Dithyrambic style, as depicted by Aristophanes. The final conclusions evaluate how the image of the lathe developed in combination with contemporary sculpture and also highlighted the most admired values in lathe work, namely how this technique enabled a detailed, meticulous, and painstaking objet d'art. As will be shown in the second section, which is devoted to Hellenistic and Augustan poetry and Roman imperial prose, this study sheds new light on some aspects of the history of meta-poetical reflection, aesthetic debate, and literary criticism.

1. *The archaeology of τόρνος, τορεύω/tornus, tornare*

Homer paired craftsmen and poets in a list of human activities (ἡ τέκτονα δούρων, / καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν *Od. XVII 384f.*) and recognised in the former's skilled hands (τέκτονος ἐν παλάμῃσι δαήμονος *Il. XV 411*) a power to marvel (θαῦμα ιδέσθαι *Il. XVIII 549*) and charm (θελεκτήριο *Od. VIII 509*) similar to that of the poet's winged words (ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνήρ ποτιδέρεται... / ὧς ἐμὲ κείνος ἔθελε *Od. XVII 518-21*)¹². The term σοφία, which was first applied by Homer to the manual craftsmanship of a carpenter (*Il. XV 412*), would soon become an appropriate designation for *Dichtkunst*¹³. However, both poetic and craft skills were not the result of human effort. The bards Demodocus (*Od. VIII 43-45; 479-81; 487f.*) and Phemius (*Od. XXII 347f.*) were taught by the Muses, while the shipbuilder Tekton Harmonides was taught his craft by Athena Ergane (*Il. V 59-64*). This name seems to refer to craftsmen in general (τεκτόνες) rather than specify carpenters¹⁴, whose drills (**Fig. 1**) were both emblematic of their work and essential to producing the various parts (ἀραρίσκω, ἀρμονία) of their many handiworks¹⁵.

¹² See commentary by MAEHLER (1963, 29).

¹³ Referring to poetry, σοφία first appears in *h. Hom., h. Merc.* 483 and 511, and *Hes.*, fr. 306.

¹⁴ Namely 'Carpenter son of Joiner', see commentary by KIRK (1990, 60) and NAGY (1979, 297-300) on the link between the I. E. roots *tek(s)- and *ar- that can be established between carpentry and poetry.

¹⁵ A running drill hangs beside Athena Ergane while she is modelling a horse *à cire perdue*, as depicted on an early classical oenochoe (Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2415).

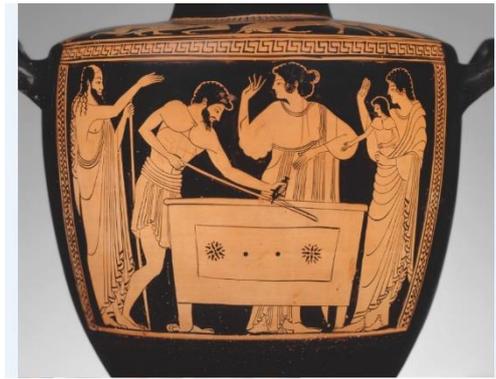


Fig. 1. Carpenter drilling a hole in the lid of a chest (designs already carved below), surrounded by Akrisios, Danae and a maid nursing Perseus. Attic red-figure hydria, c. 490 BCE, by the Gallatin Painter. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912; 13, 200. Photo © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

This was especially the case with shipbuilding. The moment when Polyphemus is being blinded (*Od.* IX 384-86) sees Odysseus and his men compared to a carpenter who whirls (δίνεον 384) a drill (τρυπάνῳ 385) to bore the planks of a boat while his assistants pull the thong (ιμάντι 385) to set it in motion¹⁶. Odysseus even becomes a shipbuilder in *Od.* V 234-61. Using the tools provided by Calypso (πελεκύς, σκέπαρνος, στάθμη, τέρετρον), he chopped trees into planks with his axe, adzed them straight to the line, and bore them all in order to fit them to each other with dowels and morticing (γόμφοισιν... καὶ ἀρμονίησιν V 248)¹⁷.

Εγὼ δ'... δίνεον, ὡς ὅτε τις τρυπῶ δόρυ νήιον ἀνήρ
 τρυπάνῳ, οἱ δὲ τ' ἔνερθεν ὑποσσέιουσιν ἰμάντι
 ἀψάμενοι ἐκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ.
 ὣς τοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ πυρήκεα μοχλὸν ἐλόντες
 δινέομεν (*Od.* IX 383-87)

And I whirled it; as when a man bores a ship's timber with a drill while those below keep spinning with the thong, which they hold by either end, and the drill runs unceasingly: so we took the fiery-pointed stake and whirled it in his eye¹⁸.

The terms τρυπάνος, τέρετρον/*terebra*, and τόρος, τορεύς are apparently different kinds or parts (auger) of a movable drill. The linguistic vehicles of these tools primarily convey abrasion. This is implied in the I.E. root **terH₁* (in its variants *tr-/ter-/tor-*), which manifests in different degrees: rubbing or attrition in διατριβῶ, *detero*, *teres*; grinding in *tero/tritus*, *triticum*; incising, carving, engraving in τέρμα, τορέω, τορεύω; piercing and

¹⁶ A related *simile* in Euripides *Cyc.* 461f., wherein the auger is also whirled with a pair of thongs (διπλοῖν χαλινοῖν).

¹⁷ This scene is explained by CASSON (1964). A shipbuilder holding a bow drill is sculpted on the Pergamon Altar, Telephos frieze, panels 5-6.

¹⁸ This and following translations are mine.

boring in τιτρώ, τρητός, διατορός, and τρυπάω¹⁹. The rotation required for this drill was mainly achieved by pulling the two ends of a handheld thong (ιμάς, χαλινός **Fig. 2**). However, straps or cords could also be fastened to a bow (**Fig. 1**)²⁰.

The lathe or τόρνος seems to be an evolution of the primitive drill²¹. A double tradition assigns its invention either to the bronze giant Talus or the sculptor Theodorus of Samos²². Apart from a compass or the combination of a peg and line to draw circles²³, the τόρνος is a workshop device fit for different purposes. It mainly refers to a turner's (τορνευτής)²⁴ lathe bench, where a piece of wood is held between two poles and *turned* (ἀποτορνεύω)²⁵ into spheres, rounded (στρόγγυλος/*teres*²⁶) spears, staffs, shafts, and tenons²⁷ by applying different edges (τορνευτήριον)²⁸; or is decorated with grooves and incisions into furniture legs. Decorative concentric grooves on walls and bottoms were incised through the use of a lathe in both bronze and glass work²⁹. In the case of the former, the piece was fitted to a detached shaft end. Wooden and soft-stone vessels were hollowed out that way³⁰ and circular tabletops were produced through a similar procedure. A rotating template may be applied during the process of bending or joining felloes (τορνόω)³¹, while sheet metal could also be spun into the form of a prepared mould³². A vertical variant is thought to explain stone vessel carving and shaping³³, by applying a

¹⁹ TOKARSKI (2016, 173f.); CHANTRAINE (1983, 1098; 1126); FRISK (1973, 912-14).

²⁰ Leonidas includes bows (*AP* VI 205, 5 ἀρίδες) to rotate drills amongst a list of carpenter's tools.

²¹ Eustathius (1533, 10) recalls that the name was originally τόρος, as in Philyllios, but was later changed into τόρνος.

²² Respectively *D. S.* IV 76, 5 and *Plin. Nat.* VII 198.

²³ Τορνεία (*Thphr. HP.* V 7, 3) refers to bentwood for shipbuilding. Τόρνος appears in lists of measuring tools (*Thgn.* I 085; *Pl. Phlb.* 56c; *Arist. Protr.* fr. 43, 7), hence it might refer to a compass or calliper. However, most occurrences imply a lathe. A separate list of instances is in RIJKSBARON (1999, 740f.).

²⁴ This name appears in lists of craftsmen; cf. *Aristox., Harm.* 42, and the comic composite τορνευτο-λυρασπιδοπηγοί, *Ar. Av.* 491, *Ps. Plato (Theag.* 124b) distinguishes borers from turners (τρυπώντων... και τορνευόντων).

²⁵ Cf. *Pl. Phdr.* 234c. Oribasius (*col. med.* XLIX 23) specifies the items lathed: stabs, windlass tourniquets and plugs (σκυτάλας ἢ περιαγωγίδας ἢ ἐπιτόνια). Describing medical specula, Oribasius cites details on the making of threads and spiral ridges (*col. med.* XLIX 5); Roman examples are listed in MUTZ (1972, nos. 466-74).

²⁶ *Serv. Ecl.* VIII 16 defines it *rotundus et oblongus, ut columna, arbor*.

²⁷ The main evidence for these belongs to the Latin *tornus*: spheres (*Cic. Rep.* I 22; *Arat.* 298; *Tim.* 17), spears (*Plin. Nat.* XI 227), axles (*Vitr.* X 4, 1; X 15, 4), pistons (*ibid.* X 7, 3; X 8, 1), conic and cylindrical plugs (*ibid.* IX 8, 6; IX 8, 11); the cored pieces the plugs are inserted into are also made with the *tornus*.

²⁸ *Thphr. HP.* V 6, 4.

²⁹ MUTZ (1972, 14-51, esp. 15). Stone and glass are discussed from nos. 504-24.

³⁰ *Thphr. Lap.* 42, in reference to a soft stone such as *Speckstein*.

³¹ Cf. *Od.* V 249; *Hdt.* IV 36, 2 describes the Ocean circling the earth κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τὸρνου.

³² STRONG (1966, 8); MUTZ (1972, 40-42).

³³ MUTZ (1978, 309) mostly referred to Judaea. The hollowing out of a tortoise shell is described in *h. Hom. Merc.* 42; 119 and *Arat.* 269.

hard sharp-edged surface (mainly emery or Naxian stone)³⁴ to hollow out blocks by friction³⁵.



Fig. 2. A sarcophagus-maker using a strap-drill to insert grooves and reliefs. The drill is guided with a rod held in the sculptor's left hand and rotated by an assistant. Detail of Eutropos' epitaph. Catacomb of St. Helena, Rome. Fourth century CE. Photo © courtesy of Amanda Claridge

This device had a glyptic variant, whereby bits were added to a shaft end and rotated so as to tunnel out the body of a flute³⁶, or pierce rings for bed-hangings³⁷. In the case of harder materials, a circular whetstone (ἀκόνη)³⁸ could be fastened with linchpins round the axle or at its end in order to edge (cf. χαλκότορος) or clean up metal³⁹ and glass, or for wheel-cut decoration. A similar lathe bench (**Fig. 3**)⁴⁰, but with finer or pointed bits, was applied to polish, pierce and engrave gemstones in different ways, from intaglio rings to magnificent cameos, cameo and open work vessels, and glass cage cups in Imperial times⁴¹. Coinage dies also show traces of a glyptic lathe⁴². As in the case of the movable drill, rotation was achieved with a bow, either by the carver himself, sitting on a small stool⁴³, or by an apprentice⁴⁴. Abrasive grit was always required⁴⁵.

³⁴ Naxian stone was used to sharpen iron (Plin. *Nat.* XXXVI 164 *ferro acuendo*) and polish other gemstones (Plin. *Nat.* XXXVII 109 *ceterae [scil. Gemmae] Naxio et cotibus poliuntur*).

³⁵ On the possibility of tubular drills to hollow out stone vessels, see PERNA (2015, 1024 with references).

³⁶ A. fr. 57 Radt βόμβυκας... τόνου κάματος.

³⁷ Thphr. *HP.* IV 2, 7; Plin. *Nat.* XIII 62 *uelares anulos*.

³⁸ Thphr. *Lap.* 43f.

³⁹ STRONG (1966, 8).

⁴⁰ ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL (2007, 500f. and pl. 959f.); Medieval version in CHARLESTON (1964, 85); images of traditional Indian bow-lathe whetstones in MORERO et al. (2017, 123f., figs. 3-4).

⁴¹ WHITEHOUSE (2015, 67), after surveying different hypotheses and successful replicas, concludes that all the evidence points to «the cold working of thick-walled blanks as the manufacturing process of ancient cage cups».

⁴² SELLWOOD (1976, 70; fig. 76).

⁴³ Apuleius, *Fl.* 9, 25, when describing Hippias' garments and seal ring, disdainfully refers to *sellulariae artes*.

⁴⁴ Plin. *Nat.* XXXVI 90: *puero circumagente tornarentur*.

⁴⁵ Slurry was made of grit – sand or emery (Plin. *Nat.* XXXVII 107) – suspended in oil or water.



Fig. 3. Engraver’s lathe bench. The lost right upper side is thought to complete the second pole and the detached shaft end of a lathe bench (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, fig. 960). A bow rests on the left pole with its strap winding round the shaft. Detail of the sepulchral inscription of Doros the ring carver (δακτυλιοκοιολογλύφος) found in Philadelphia (Alaşehir). Second century CE. Image from a reproduction of the original held in a private collection. Vienna, Kleinasiatischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Photo © courtesy of Georg Petzl

The use of drills in sculpture was not only frequent in polishing and adding details on cast bronze, but also increasingly widespread in stone relief with diverse sculptors adopting it throughout all stages of their work⁴⁶, as tool marks on unrubbed traces show⁴⁷. It helped them to cut channels and areas by honeycombing and was essential whenever precision was required, especially to add details such as ears, nostrils, hair curls or drapery⁴⁸, and to outline figures on reliefs. By applying this same tool obliquely to create grooves⁴⁹, the “running drill” technique enabled more lavish details and deeper relief in Hellenistic and Roman times. The sculptor Callimachus, dubbed κατατηξίτεχνος (‘enfeebling his art’) for his obsession with perfectionism (**Fig. 4**), was the first likely to have used this technique in the second half of the fifth century BCE⁵⁰. Catachresis from stone work would thus be implied in the terms referred to relief fashioning⁵¹. This is why most examples of ἐντορεύω⁵², the action, τορευτής⁵³, the craftsman, and τορεία the

⁴⁶ ADAM (1966, 42).

⁴⁷ Drill marks are clearly visible in DURNAN (2000, fig. 6).

⁴⁸ Marks left on sculptures also convey the use of cutting compasses to outline eyeballs and animal spots, see ADAM (1966, 82).

⁴⁹ ADAM (1966, 62); DURNAN (2000, 32).

⁵⁰ Paus. I 26, 7: λίθους πρώτος ἐτρύπησε; Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV 92.

⁵¹ Augustine alludes to the making of new stone statues of Hercules (*Adsunt metalla, saxa... accedunt et marmorum genera... deus uester cum diligentia sculpsitur; tornatur et ornatur Ep.* 50). Relief sculpture is implied in the decoration of Salomon’s Temple (*et omnes parietes templi per circuitum sculpsit uariis caelaturis et torno III Reg.* 6, 29).

⁵² As opposed to γλύφω, which referred to wood sculpture (cf. Thphr. *HP.* V 3, 7; Thcr. *Ep.* 4 = 20, 2 GP), (ἐν)τορεύω is mostly applied to *caelata* (Plu. *Cic.* 4); stone relief may be described in Ael. *NA* X 22.

⁵³ The common word for sculptor was ἐρμογλυφεῖος (Pl. *Smp.* 215b). Plutarch lists (*Per.* 12, 6) the many crafts that flourished in Classical Athens; ποικιλταί and τορευταί are joined in a would-be category of ‘embellishers’.

technique⁵⁴, all refer to silver embossing, the popular and sought-after late-Hellenistic *toreumata*⁵⁵. A similar catachresis is perceived in *caelare*, *caelator*, and *caelatura*⁵⁶, while *toreuma* refers in Latin usage to any vessel or set of vessels decorated in relief, be they made of silver plate, pottery, glass, or gemstone⁵⁷. Far from technical accuracy, the semantics of these terms emphasises aesthetic appearance and figurative relief rather than specific materials or crafts⁵⁸.

2. Poet, engraver and circular choral motion

While Greek archaic poetry (μουσική) was often uttered aloud it was also mostly sung and accompanied by choreographed dances. The sounds and movements implied in drilling could thus excite the imagination and become fundamental to sustaining the meta-poetical lathe image. On the one hand, the chirping and rhythmic abrasion resembles that of a cicada, a common poetic emblem. And *τορός*, a derivative from *τόρος*, is common reference to a blunt or sharp-clear utterance in Aeschylean drama⁵⁹. While on the other hand, motion was present in the pulling of the thongs (ὑποσσειουσιν *Od.* IX 385; *τόρνευ'*, ἔλκε *E. Cyc.* 661), the alternate whirling of the shaft (δίνεον... δινέομεν *Od.* IX 384-87) and the winding and rewinding of straps (ἐλίσσω). As can be perceived in *Od.* V 231ff., the line (στάθμη) was associated with straight surfaces, whereas the lathe was used for rounded or curved surfaces and is connected with circular movement (τορνοώσεται *ibid.* 249)⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ This term implies relief as opposed to intaglio (γλυφή, cf. *Plu. Alex.* 2, 4; *Art.* 18, 2; *Thphr. Lap.* 18; 23, etc.) signet rings.

⁵⁵ Notice Verres' frenzy for *caelata* ubiquitous in *Cic. Ver.* Silver embossing was a noble hobby for Hellenistic kings (*Plut. Demetr.* 20; *Aem.* 37, on Perseus' third son).

⁵⁶ Pliny (*Nat.* XXXV 156) declares that clay sculpture (*plastice*) was the mother of *caelatura* and *statuaria sculptura* in Rome. Some instances from Book XXXVI imply that *caelare*, *caelator*, *caelatura* refer to relief sculpture being different from statuary on-the-round. By using these terms, he recalls the artists who sculpted the façades of the Mausoleum (*Mausoleum celauere*, *Nat.* XXXVI 29-30) and some columns of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus which bore reliefs (*ex iis XXXVI caelatae, una a Scopis*, *Nat.* XXXVI 95). He also refers to Lysias as *caelator* (*Nat.* XXXVI 36) for having made a copy of Calamis' Apollo. Similar instances are found in *Nat.* XXXVI 18 (the reliefs on the basis of Phidias' Athena), XXXVI 33 (Pollio's buildings), and XXXV 158 (temple pediments). However, Quintilian's different criterion (*Inst.* II 21, 9) distinguishes *caelatura*, as applied to gold, silver, bronze, or iron, from *sculptura*, as applied to wood, ivory, marble, glass, and gemstones.

⁵⁷ Contrast *Cic. Ver.* II 128 and IV 38 concerning Verres' fancy for silverware with *Mart.* IV 46, 14-16 *luteum toreuma* (clay); XIV 94, 1 *plebeia toreumata... audaci uitri* (glass); XI 11, 1 *toreumana Nili* (likely rock crystal), see ENCUESTRA (2020, 970-72).

⁵⁸ A similar situation in Pliny's treatment of glass working (*aliud torno teritur; aliud argenti modo caelatur*, *Nat.* XXXVI 193) in ENCUESTRA (2021, 280).

⁵⁹ Figured expression in *A. A.* 1162 τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω, but technical in *Supp.* 944f. τῶνδ' ἐφήλωται τορῶς γόμφος διαμπάξ, ὡς μένειν ἀραρότως. The question on *τορός* and Callimachus' quarrel about the *Lyde* will be analysed in the second part of this study.

⁶⁰ See *Aristox. Harm.* 42, *Arist. [Mu.]* 341b, and *Vitr.* IX 1, 2, who all compared the cosmic revolution to that of a *tornus*. To Plato (*R.* 616b-e) this was like a whorl (σφόνδιλον).



Fig. 4. Dancing Maenad holding a thyrsus. Marble. Roman copy (c. 120-140 CE) of a Greek original attributed to Callimachus. Madrid, Museo del Prado, E-47. Photo © Courtesy of Museo del Prado

In his description of the shield of Achilles Homer suffused the moment of his own performance with that of Hephaestus chiselling different scenes along its rings. I argue that in this way he was trying to underscore how similar the purposes and the effects of both artists were. Hephaestus, in turn, chisels scenes where poets and musicians perform⁶¹. The most elaborate and compelling example of this is the dancing chorus engraved in the fourth concentric circle (*Il.* XVIII 590-606). Hephaestus was chiselling it (ποίκιλλε 590) on the model Daedalus (Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν 592) had once fashioned for Ariadne. Therein a mixed chorus is likely performing the crane dance (γέρανος)⁶² while their skilled feet (ἐπιστάμενοισι πόδεσσι 599) trace an intricate pattern on the dancing-floor (χορός 590; 603)⁶³ by combining straight (ἐπὶ στίχας 602) and circular lines⁶⁴. The maiden's crowns (καλὰς στεφάνας 597) and the young men's swords (μαχαίρας... χρυσείας 597f.) seem to reflect those lines. Simultaneously, two solo dancers whirl (ἐδίνευον 606) amongst them and lead the chorus⁶⁵. The whole choreography describes a set of rhythmic movements akin to those of a machine, if not dancing automata⁶⁶. This can be seen in the movement of the chorus which runs (θρέξασκον 599; 602; cf. the auger in *Od.* IX 368 τρέχει) in circle like a potter's wheel (τροχός 600). A few lines above, the similar motion of ploughmen who turn back every time they finish a furrow (δινέοντες... ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα... στρέψαντες 543f.), suggests a lathe-like alternate direction taken by the

⁶¹ *Il.* XVIII 491-95, a wedding choir of young men, and XVIII 567-72, a harvest song.

⁶² On this dance, which likely resembled a maypole dance for its choreography, and on textile imagery, see FANFANI (2018, 17; 23-32).

⁶³ With the double sense of 'dancing-floor' and 'chorus', as scholiast insists; EDWARDS (1991, 228).

⁶⁴ CARRUESCO (2016, 84-105) shows a remarkable link between these choral patterns and archaic geometric pottery.

⁶⁵ CARRUESCO (2016, 75-77), clearly perceives the orchestric patterns are κύκλος, στίχες, δίνη.

⁶⁶ Like other previous animated creations by Hephaestus (tripods *Il.* XVIII 375-79; golden maiden, *ibid.* 417f.); cf. POWER (2011, 80-82).

solo dancers⁶⁷. The pattern thus evokes the twisting and turning corridors of the Cretan labyrinth and βουστροφηδόν writing⁶⁸. Athenaeus' text included a singing bard and his kithara in ll. 604f. (τερπόμενος· μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς / φορμίζων), which is suppressed in most modern editions (ll. 603f.)⁶⁹. To sum up, Daedalus' portrait as the designer of a technologized chorus⁷⁰ in that intricately crafted thing of wonder was a way for Homer to create a *mise en abîme* of himself and his craft.

3. Pindar, the whetstone of the Muses

Once they grew conscious of their individual skills, Archaic poets drew on that proximity and started referring to themselves in the vocabulary and similes of craftwork. In the *Elegy to the Muses* (fr. 1, 49-52 GP²), Solon highlights both practice and expertise as the link artisans and poets share. Though maintaining the traditional belief in divine inspiration, his concept of σοφίης μέτρον might already oppose a certain intellectual loftiness to craftsmanship⁷¹. A century later, Pindar freely uses σοφός, σοφίστα, σοφία to denote 'poet' and 'ode singing' in his many meta-poetical musings⁷². He considers himself a kind of hired craftsman who sells his σοφία⁷³ and describes his art by way of catachresis. Poets are skilful artisan-joiners (τέκτονες σοφοί ἄρμποσαν *P.* 3, 113f.); performers are craftsmen of sweet-sounding revels (μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων *N.* 3, 4f.); poetic skill also belongs to the palm (παλαμιά *O.* 13, 53), or it is a device (μαχανά *P.* 1, 41; 8, 34; 75), a light and «winged craft» (ποτανὰ μαχανά *N.* 7, 22; sim. *P.* 8, 34). Therefore, Pindar prays to Mnemosyne to obtain expertise (εὐμαχανία *Pae.* 7b, 10-15). This new contractual conception of choral poetry explains the emergence of ποιεῖν to convey poetic craftsmanship⁷⁴.

As regards the competing expressivity of poets and τέκτονες, in *Olympian* 1 Pindar consciously evokes and reverses the intermedial direction detected in the description of the Shield of Achilles by referring to stories «crafted with patterned lies» (δεδαδαλμένοι ψεῦδεσι ποικίλοις... μῦθοι *O.* 1, 29), or by embellishing Hieron's deeds in the glorious layers of his odes (κλυταῖσι δαίδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς *O.* 1, 105)⁷⁵. In other

⁶⁷ Eust. *Il.* 606 identifies there the movement of a δίνοσ, another word for τόρνοσ. The weaver's shuttle also moves that way in *E. Tr.* 200.

⁶⁸ GRAND-CLÉMENT (2015, 408).

⁶⁹ In view of the previous wedding and vintage scenes, EDWARDS (1991, 231), remarks how odd the omission of musicians would be.

⁷⁰ On automata and ciberchoruses see POWER (2011, 67; 77-82).

⁷¹ As NOUSSIA-FANTUZZI (2010, 185) concludes; see also MAEHLER (1963, 67).

⁷² O'SULLIVAN (2005, 102).

⁷³ In *I.* 2, 6-8 his Muse is greedy for gain and up for hire (Μοῖσα... φιλοκερδής... ἐργάτις).

⁷⁴ On semantic evolution see SVENBRO (2020, 195-202, from Theognis to Herodotus), who highlights that (*ibid.* p. 198) «*poieîn est en effet le mot-clé pour designer la transformation du monde materiel par le travail payé*».

⁷⁵ Cf. also *Parth.* 2.32 δαίδαλοισ' ἔπεσιν. The shield of Achilles had been wrought in five layers (*Il.* XVIII 479-82). Different interpretations of πτυχά (textile, musical, writing tablet) in GERBER (1982, 159).

epinician odes Pindar brings to life and gives voice to the statues and reliefs standing at the very locale of performance. This may be the case in *Pythian* 6, which was freely inspired by the story of Antilochos described on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi⁷⁶. *Nemean* 5 is also supposed to have been performed at the tomb of Phocus and around the Aecaeum in Aegina. This city was by then well-renowned for its bronze sculpture, especially figures of athletes⁷⁷.

On this contrast of abilities and competing commissions to honour the victors⁷⁸, we touch on the core of Pindar's epinician odes. Surrounded by mute figures, in the opening line of *Nemean* 5 he declares that he is not a sculptor of idle statues (οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματα 1) standing on their bases. Instead, he includes his odes among traditional, movable luxury gifts (ἀγάλματα), though of a different kind. His odes are sonorous and live on people's tongues (*ibid.* 86; *I.* 2, 46). Since they are winged (πτερόεντα... ὕμνον *I.* 5, 64), they can travel as far as Phoenician imports do (*P.* 2, 68). Despite these differences, Pindar describes his poetry through metaphors of crafts associated with victory celebration⁷⁹. For example, stone working is the craft referenced in *Nemean* 4 and 8, where Pindar declares his intention to erect a stele whiter than Parian marble (*N.* 4, 81) or a loud-sounding stone of the Muses (ἐλαφρόν... λίθον Μοισαῖον 8, 46f.). Yet most metaphors are connected to goldsmithing and metal working, since athletic glory is gold which can be rendered pure and bright as if molten (χρυσός ἐψόμενος *N.* 4, 83) or refined on a touchstone (καθαρᾶ βασιάνῳ fr. 122, 16; *P.* 10, 62)⁸⁰.

Like the many-coloured (ποικίλος) epic shields, where tin, silver, adamant, pewter, bronze, and glass-paste combine with gold, amber and ivory (*Il.* XVIII 564f.; 576; Hes. *Sc.* 140ff.)⁸¹, the epinician ode is a sweet-voiced adornment inlaid on the victor's golden olive crown (κόσμον ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας ἀδυμελῆ *O.* 11, 13f.). In *Pythian* 9, 75-78, Pindar declares that it is impossible for him to give a full account of the victor's glory (δόξαν...) and story-exciting virtues (ἀρεταὶ δ' αἰεὶ μεγάλα πολύμυθοι 9, 75f.). Therefore, that embellishment cannot be but a detail of the larger whole (βασιὰ δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς 9, 76-78)⁸². Though remaining problematic, ἀκοὰ (78)

⁷⁶ SHAPIRO (1988); ATHANASSAKI (2012, 151-57) argues for a sympotic performance mirroring the choral procession on the Sacred Way.

⁷⁷ PAVLOU (2010, 7-11).

⁷⁸ On the agonistic context see O'SULLIVAN (2003).

⁷⁹ O'SULLIVAN (2003, 75f.).

⁸⁰ This term is linked to the meta-poetical image of the untrodden path (κελεύθῳ τ' ἐν καθαρᾶ *O.* 6, 23; *I.* 5, 23).

⁸¹ This technique is conveyed in the simile of *Od.* VI 232-34 (τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ). See also the comments on *Il.* IV 140-47 by FORD (2002, 116), and on Agamemnon's armour by GIANNINI (2009, 68f.).

⁸² Similarly, after surveying different interpretations, GALLET (1990, 89) concludes that these lines refer to the introduction of accessory themes into the principal ones.

is widely accepted as meaning ‘listening’⁸³. However, Wilamowitz’s (1901, 1291, n. 1) restitution ἀκόνα (‘whetstone’, see below) coheres well with ποικίλλειν to evoke the process of detail addition, such as inlaid foil, abrasions, incisions or studded elements. Similar intricate decoration convey the sonorous and colourful Lydian headband Pindar brings to the victor (Λυδῖαν μίτραν καναχηδὰ πεποικιλμέναν *N.* 8, 15)⁸⁴, and the band the Muse is working on by welding (κολλᾷ *N.* 7, 77) gold and coral onto ivory⁸⁵.

Ritual libation and sympotic vessels also form part of the *agalmata* which commemorate the victor’s glory⁸⁶, and also represent an emblem of Pindar’s odes. In *Olympian* 7, 1-9, by way of a simile, he introduces a golden *phiale* (φιάλαν... πάγχρυσον 1-4) containing nectar, the gift of the Muses (νέκταρ χυτόν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν 7) and the sweet fruit of his mind (γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός 8). The songs of the Muses could also be mixed in a bowl (κρατήρα Μοισαίων μελέων *I.* 6, 1f.), as if honey and white milk (*N.* 3, 77-78). In *Olympian* 6, Aineas, Pindar’s *dedoublé je* as herald⁸⁷ and message-stick⁸⁸, is also a sweet krater of loud-sounding songs (γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγτων ἀοιδᾶν *O.* 6, 91).

The image of the singer poet as a tool, conduit, or message-stick of the Muses (σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν *O.* 6, 91)⁸⁹, takes us to a new set of metaphors which broadcast the victor’s fame on the singer’s tongue, which can be forged on the anvil of truth (to Hieron: ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν *P.* 1, 86). Given that epinician odes can be performed at different times and locations, Pindar’s fluent tongue becomes a bow casting sonorous shots (πολλὰ μὲν ἀρτιεπὴς γλωσσά μοι τοξέυματ’ ἔχει *I.* 5, 47). The bow is a gift of the Muses (Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων *O.* 9, 5), whose arrows are honey-sounding odes (ἐτόξευον μελιγάρυας ὕμνους *I.* 2, 3) or winged darts of fame (εὐκλέας οἰστοὺς *O.* 2, 90; περόεντα... οἰστόν 9, 11)⁹⁰ aiming at the Muses’ target (*N.* 9, 55). Referential for these images of differing oral communication are the deceiving shafts (κῆλα) shot from Apollo’s lyre, as evoked in *P.* 1, 12⁹¹. In a similar vein, Pindar depicts his sharp tongue as a bronze-cheeked javelin (θοᾶν γλῶσσαν... ἄκονθ’ ὥτε χαλκοπάραιον *N.* 7, 71f.) which may not exceed the lists of praise (*P.* 1, 41-44).

⁸³ INSTONE (1996, 79 and 134). The Notion of ‘fame’ and poetic ‘glory’ (cf. lat. *bene/male de aliquo audire*) may also fit the meta-poetic context.

⁸⁴ As STEINER (1993, 164) points out, the victor’s statues bore headbands as a distinctive mark. These were decorated, painted, or inlaid with precious metal. In musical terms, Pindar may be also referring to the Lydian genus.

⁸⁵ Cf. also *O.* 6, 86-87; *N.* 8.57; 12.5. Incision is pointed at in *P. Berol.* 9571^v col. 2.55 Schubart (Pindar?) [μέ]τρον δ(ια)γλύφω.

⁸⁶ Cf. *N.* 9, 51 and the official inventories of temple treasures (*IG* II 699-701; 768).

⁸⁷ See also *O.* 13, 99; *P.* 9, 2.

⁸⁸ ADORJANI (2014a, 51; 2014b, 45).

⁸⁹ Image taken from Archilochus, fr. 185, see ADORJANI (2014a, 287). On its meaning, WEST (1988) disregards the hypothesis of a cryptographic Spartan device and explains it as a notched stick for credentials or *aide-mémoire* common in oral cultures.

⁹⁰ Similar images in *O.* 1, 112 and 2, 83-85.

⁹¹ On Pindar’s play on κῆλα/κηλεῖν, see MAEHLER (1963, 82).

δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσα ἀκόνας λιγυρᾶς,
 ἃ μ' ἐθέλοντα προσέρπει καλλιρόασι πνοαῖς (O. 6, 82f.)

I have a certain glory on the tongue of a shrill whetstone, which pulls me, with great delight, into blows of beautiful streams.

These images emphasising the sonorous, mobile, and drilling dimension of the odes⁹² offer a backdrop against which the corrupt, difficult, and much debated *Olympian* 6, 82f. can be examined⁹³. The vocabulary and imagery of the passage seem to describe a whetstone or lathe of the Muses for the first time. As inferred from the images above, it is fair to say that δόξαν (cf. *P.* 9, 75) refers to the victor's glory⁹⁴, namely Hagesias and his lauded ancestor Iamos. The whetstone (ἀκόνα), I suggest, may thus be the tool which polished the victor's glory and made it shine. In a similar way, a whetstone and its edging or improving effects describe the benefits the trainer – who is compared to a τέκτων in *N.* 5, 48 – imparts on noble athletes. In *Isthmica* 6 trainer Lampon acts as a Naxian whetstone for his own sons (Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις χαλκοδάμαντ' ἀκόναν *I.* 6, 73) in much the same way that Achilles had sharpened Patroclus' virtues (θάξαις *O.* 10, 20). Naxos was well known for its emery (a variety of corundum, Mohs scale 9), a «bronze-taming» element. Apart from the poet's tongue, γλώσσα may also stand for the abrading bit, and ἀκόνα may thus be conceived as the entire device, a whirled shaft with a shrill voice as the ἄκων above also was⁹⁵. It must be noted that Bacchylides depicts himself as the shrill-voiced bee (λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν *Ep.* 10, 10), and for Pindar bees are craftsmen of a τρητὸν πόνον (*P.* 6, 53).

Though word order, hiatus and use of case remain problematic, the sound of the whetstone was considered the voice of the Muses⁹⁶. Adorjani (2014a, 262) even reads Ἀκόνα personified as *die wetzende Muse*, and argues that these two lines depict a moment of inspiration. In line 83 Pindar really seems to move from narration to subjectivity⁹⁷. The general idea is that he is pleased (μ' ἐθέλοντα) to become a divine tool. The variant προσέλκει further befits the lathe metaphor⁹⁸, and reveals a similar interpretation among ancient readers. The terms καλλιρόασι πνοαῖς reinforce the idea of inspiration: on the one hand, breaths and winds denote music and chants as vehicles of poetry (Μοῖσ'

⁹² In *P.* 1, 42, it is not clear whether the opposition strong hand/ready tongue (καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ χερσὶ βιαταὶ περιγλωσσοὶ τ' ἔφυν) refers to an athlete vs. poet or to craft vs. poetry, especially after declaring that the skills leading to human excellence are a divine gift (ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μαχαναὶ πᾶσαι βροτέαις ἀρεταῖς *I.* 41).

⁹³ HUTCHINSON (2001, 410).

⁹⁴ WOODBURY (1955, 32) understands the term as meaning 'perception' whereas BEATTIE (1956, 1) the poet's 'reputation'. Critical survey in ADORJANI (2014a, 258-60).

⁹⁵ On their related etymology see FRISK (1973, 62) and CHANTRAINE (1983, 43). It must be noted that the javelin was thrown by means of a thong (ἀγκύλη) wound near the centre of gravity. This created a rotatory motion which helped the javelin to keep its carry and direction; see GARDINER (1907, 250f., with images).

⁹⁶ GILDERSLEEVE (1885, 179).

⁹⁷ HUTCHINSON (2001, 412).

⁹⁸ See *E. Cyc.* 661.

ἀδύπνοος *O.* 13, 22; ἐν πνοαῖσιν ἀύλων *N.* 3, 79), favouring the course of the encomiastic shafts (οὔρον ἐπέων ἐυκλέα *N.* 6, 28b-29); on the other, the stream of the Muses (ροαῖσι Μοισᾶν *N.* 7, 12), especially the fountain Dirke (παγὰν ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων *P.* 4, 299; καλλιρόφ Δίρκῃ *I.* 8, 19f.), is a mnemonic reservoir where glorious deeds are preserved for future generations in the purest kind of poetry (σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον *I.* 7, 17-19)⁹⁹.

Dance was an essential element in the performance of epinician odes. Despite the lack of information about the conditions and roles of amateur κῶμοι and professional poets¹⁰⁰, Pindar sometimes projects an ideal chorus of Graces or Muses before the eyes of the celebrating community, or reflects on the way an actual chorus is performing¹⁰¹. In *Olympian* 4 the Horae whirl to the sounds of the colourful-voiced lyre (ὕπὸ ποκιλοφόρμιγγος ἀοιδᾶς ἐλισσόμενοι 4, 2). In *Nemean* 5, Pindar is possibly excited by the surrounding choral images. He describes Apollo and his seven-tongued lyre in the middle (ἐν δὲ μέσαις 5, 23) of whirling Muses. Pindar thus feels an impulse to dance (ἔχω γονάτων ὀρμὰν ἐλαφράν 5, 20) and lead them¹⁰². Similarly, in *Paeon* 8, 65-90 M he describes the golden maiden chorus of singing Κηληδόνες¹⁰³. A peculiar choral reflection can be also perceived in *Olympian* 13, where Pindar imagines himself throwing a set of darts like a bullroarer (ἐμὲ δ'εὐθὺν ἀκόντων ἰέντα ρόμβον 13, 93-95). Since ρόμβος evokes the whirled and thundering lozenge symbol of the mystery cults, this image may well evoke both the circling κῶμος and each of the odes (ἀκόντες) sung at the performance.

Κεκρότηται χρυσέα κρηπίς ἱεραῖσιν ἀοιδαῖς·
εἶα τειχίζωμεν ἤδη ποικίλον
κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων. (fr. 194, 1-3)

A golden base has been hammered for holy songs. Come, let us now raise a colourful speaking adornment!

This interpretation helps us understand the final image to be discussed here, namely that found in Pindar's Fr. 194. Despite the use of masonry terms, the metaphors seem to describe the process of raising a flat disk of metal into the shape of a vessel by lathe

⁹⁹ On ἄωτος as a nap on the surface of cloth and hence 'top', see RAMAN (1975).

¹⁰⁰ On the debate concerning the choral and unison, vs. soloist performance of epinician odes, see HEATH – LEFKOWITZ (1991); on the internal evidence on their setting in Bacchylides, see SOTIRIOU (2012, 35-41).

¹⁰¹ On the difference between choral projection/choral reflection see CSAPO (2008, 262).

¹⁰² See NIKOLAIDOU-ARABATZI (2014, 43). PFEIFFER (1999, 129), interprets the line in reference to Pindar's skipping obscure episodes in the house of Aeacus (μακρὰ μοι αὐτόθεν ἄλμαθ' ὑποσκάπτοι τις 5, 19-20).

¹⁰³ They were possibly acroteria on a Delphic temple. According to POWER (2011, 112) they «iconicise the super-occasional potential of choral performance... ritually incarnated every year in the same place, *ad infinitum*».

spinning¹⁰⁴: gold is first hammered (κεκρότηται) by dancers, who stamp the earth with swift feet (cf. *Pae.* 6, 17-18M ποδὶ κροτέο[ντι γὰν θο]ῶ)¹⁰⁵; then, the victor's golden glory becomes a «foundation» (κρηπίς) which whirling dancers will *raise* (τειχίζωμεν; cf. *P.* 3, 113f.) into the walls of a voiced and variegated adornment (ποικίλον / κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων)¹⁰⁶. Read that way, this *choreia* image both recalls and transforms the mute geometry of the Cretan dance floor into a meta-poetical vessel¹⁰⁷.

One can thus conclude that all this imagery concerning round-shaped items (wreaths, headbands, bowls) is in some ways a reflection of a performing chorus. As a matter of fact, Late Hellenistic scholars and ancient scholia recall that the peculiar triadic structure of choral lyric had its origin in a circular dance around an altar¹⁰⁸. The choreuts first danced in one direction (*strophe*), then turned to the opposite (*antistrophe*), and finally stood still (*epodos*). Although we do not know how actual choral performance was, it is compelling to compare this alternating rotation with the movement taken by a bow lathe.

4. *The lathe of Dionysus: Aristophanes on Euripidean New Dithyrambic style*

With his rich cross-craft terminology and complex, obscure, and highly polysemic tropes and images, Pindar is the first to draw on the multiple actions of the lathe to metaphorically convey those of a chorus¹⁰⁹. The remarkable aristocratic character of his odes was no impediment for their becoming a reference for the Athenian democratic festivals, where tragedy, comedy, dithyramb and *nomos* coincided and exerted a mutual influence upon each other¹¹⁰. Even though most of that New Dithyramb is lost, Aristophanes helps us draw a picture of its main features when he targets its musical innovations, especially the increasing virtuosity of professional pipers (αὐληταί)¹¹¹, the prioritizing of sound over sense, and a conscious aestheticism¹¹². Imagery connected to craftsmanship also played an important part in New Dithyramb's luxuriant, mimetic and

¹⁰⁴ STRONG (1966, 8). Similar metaphor in *P.* 7, 3/4.

¹⁰⁵ POWER (2011, 111).

¹⁰⁶ For O'SULLIVAN (2003, 80 and n. 27) this term evokes the manufacturing of epic δαίδαλα. Also note Solon's κόσμον ἐπέων, fr. 2, 2 GP²; on its meaning see NOUSSIA-FANTUZZI (2010, 211f.).

¹⁰⁷ Some fifth century BCE phialai mesomphalai with engraved or inlaid decoration round the navel remain possible references for Pindar's imagination, see STRONG (1966, 75-84, pl. 14, 15, 19).

¹⁰⁸ See the texts translated by MULLEN (1982, 225-28), and listed in CRUSIUS (1888, 10f.) and FÄRBER (1936, 14-19).

¹⁰⁹ The term ἀκόνα can also be read on a papyrus fragment ascribed to Simonides (P. Oxy. 2623) but it is isolated and of desperate interpretation.

¹¹⁰ ZIMMERMANN (2008, 131) discovers three common tendencies: «Manierismus, Gattungsmischung und Archaismus».

¹¹¹ According to CSAPO (2004, 211) «pipers are the unsung heroes of the new Music». An overview is found in *ibid.* pp. 211-21, GENTILI (1984, 47-55) and ZIMMERMANN (2008, 120-24); on *polyphonia* and the leading role of the *aulos*, see FRANKLIN (2013, with references).

¹¹² On this peculiar style, see CSAPO (2004, 222-28).

emotive expression. Aristophanes also satirizes the special dithyrambic colour Euripides gives to his tragic choruses from the 420's onwards¹¹³.

In *The Birds* Aristophanes opposes two kinds of dithyramb writer. The unnamed Poet embodies the ancient version. He is a hired and inspired poet who, like Pindar or Bacchylides, can compose different types of poetry for the new city on the clouds (918-19). These include circular choruses (κύκλια *ibid.* 918) explicitly pointing to dithyramb. This can be inferred from Pindar's fr. 75, 18f., a dithyramb performed round the navel-stone of Athens¹¹⁴, which is internally referred to as a set of songs performed by pipes and a chorus. It is then compelling to read Semele's whirled headband (Σεμέλων ἐλικάμπυκα 19) as denoting the revel itself¹¹⁵. Kinesias, on the contrary, represents the New Dithyramb. He proudly shows off his τέχνη, which derives from the clouds (*Av.* 1387). He dances in complicated gyres (τί δεῦρο πόδα σὺ κυλλὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον κυκλεῖς; 1379) and hopes to become the shrill-voiced nightingale (λιγύφογγος ἀηδῶν 1381). In describing his art (1388-90), Kinesias builds on Pindar's synaesthetic, coloured expression (ποικίλος)¹¹⁶ by combining words with bright, dark, and bluish shades, as if embellishing an epic shield.

Κρέματα μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῶν ἡ τέχνη.
τῶν διθυράμβων γὰρ τὰ λαμπρὰ γίγνεται
ἀέρια καὶ σκοτεινὰ καὶ κυαναυγέα
καὶ πτεροδόνητα (*Av.* 1388-90)

Hence, it is upon the clouds that our entire art derives. The most shining parts of dithyrambs are ethereal, obscure, blue-shaded, and wing-flapping.

The peculiar crafted and coloured expression of Agathon's plays¹¹⁷ is another target of derision. The initial scene of *Thesmophoriazusae*¹¹⁸, a parodic jumble of technical images by which Agathon's slave describes his nicely-voiced (καλλιεπής 49) master in poetic ecstasy behind the backdrop, parodies his fondness for amassing images¹¹⁹: while he bends down the songs the chorus will later dance (κατακάμπτεῖν τὰς στροφάς 68), he rounds lines as felloes and mortises as if spokes¹²⁰, coins them with new and different meanings, and casts in bronze *à cire perdue*. Aristophanes seems to joyfully toy with well-

¹¹³ CSAPO (2008, 286); NIKOLAIDOU-ARABATZI (2015, 26f.).

¹¹⁴ For NEER – KURKE (2014, 567) this *omphalos* is the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora.

¹¹⁵ In a dirge (fr. 128c, 3) Pindar identifies Dionysus's ivy crown with dithyramb, as opposed to paeans.

¹¹⁶ On the permeability of sensory perceptions implied in that concept, see GRAND-CLÉMENT (2015, 414) and LE VEN (2013, 233).

¹¹⁷ Agathon introduced τὸ χρωματικόν into tragedy for the first time (Plu. *Mor.* 645e). *TrGF* 39 test. 11, 12 and Ar. *PCG* 178 target Agathon's soft and effeminate style.

¹¹⁸ Written in 411, see AUSTIN – OLSON (2004, xxxv).

¹¹⁹ See the recent comment by GAVAZZA (2021, 91-101).

¹²⁰ This expression may also contain an allusion to the melodic modulations typical of the dithyramb, as in κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἄσματοκάμπτας (*Nu.* 333). Aristophanes further develops this wheelwright image in *Eq.* 461-64.

known Pindaric meta-poetical images: the boat¹²¹, the chariot of the Muses¹²², the Lidian headband (*N.* 7, 77), and the mute and static bronze statues.

Δρυόχους τιθέναι δράματος ἀρχάς·
κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἀψίδας ἐπῶν
τὰ δὲ τορνεύει, τὰ δὲ κολλομελεῖ,
καὶ γνωμοτυπεῖ κἀντονομάζει
καὶ κηροχυτεῖ καὶ γογγύλει / καὶ χοανεύει (*Th.* 52-57).

He is putting up the initial props of a drama; he bends new rims of words: some he turns in the lathe, some he mortises; and he mints sentences, changes their meaning, flattens, and rounds them as wax, and casts in bronze.

Euripides also furthered Pindar's craft metaphors for expressive purposes.¹²³ His tragic language reflects both his reputed admiration for the many crafts visible on Athenian streets and a first-hand acquaintance with artists and artisans. In this way he was giving voice to an important and active social group in Athenian democracy. Like many other crafts alluded to in his plays and analysed by Stieber¹²⁴, the *τόρνος* and its vocabulary often emerge to enliven, as if a simile, descriptions of actions or objects, but without meta-poetical intention. In *Ba.* 1066f., the bending of felloes on a circular mould by gradual rotation would be implied in a corrupted and much-debated simile¹²⁵, where the messenger describes how a fir tree was bent and curved akin to spirals inscribed with a lathe (*τόρνω γραφόμενος περιφορὰν ἑλικοδρόμον* 1067)¹²⁶. A lathe bench and its precision in drawing circles is also evoked in the «well-grooved» rim on Hector's shield, which still held its dead owner's sweat (*ἵτνος τ' ἐν εὐτόρνοισι περιδρόμοις ἰδρώς Tr.* 1197), and was well-rounded (*ἀμφίτορνον ἀσπίδα Tr.* 1156). Similarly, an illiterate Cretan describes the letter Θ on Theseus' boat by comparing it to a circle measured with lathes (*κύκλος τις ὡς τόρνοισιν ἐκμετρούμενος fr.* 382, 3)¹²⁷. The peculiar rotation of the lathe also inspired a simile in *Heracles* (*ὁ δ' ἐξελίσσων παῖδα κίονος κύκλω / τόρνευμα δεινὸν ποδὸς HF* 977f.). Upon describing how that hero first chased his son around a column (*ἐξελίσσων* 977), then suddenly changed his direction by pivoting on one foot,

¹²¹ *Pi.* *P.* 2, 62; 80; 10, 51f.; 11, 40-42; *N.* 3, 26f.; 4, 70; 5, 52.

¹²² Be it the Μοισᾶν δῖφρον (*O.* 9, 80; *I.* 2, 2) or the Μοισαῖον ἄρμα (*N.* 1, 8; *I.* 8, 61; *Pae.* 7b, 13). See also ASPER (1997, 26-38).

¹²³ That may not be exclusive to Euripides; contrast *N.* 3, 4-5 and Cratinus fr. 70 *τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων*.

¹²⁴ See STIEBER (2011); for a more recent survey of technical expressions see STIEBER (2020, 704-12).

¹²⁵ Discussion and references in STIEBER (2006 and 2011, 347-55). I accept her general conclusions save that I do not believe that *τόρνος* implies only a circular mould, but should also indicate a rotating one, i.e. a lathe, enabling the bending process.

¹²⁶ I follow Reiske's conjecture. Manuscripts contain *ἔλκει δρόμον*.

¹²⁷ Most authors interpret this example as a compass, but nothing impedes this from also being a lathe. This passage was imitated by Agathon (*TrGF* I 39 F 4 [Ath. X 454b-d]), see GAVAZZA (2021, 186-94), and by Theodectas (fr. 10 Pacelli), see TORRANCE (2013, 175-77).

and finally shot him, Euripides signifies in *τόρνευμα* the brisk change in the alternate revolving of a lathe.

Unlike *τόρνος*, *ἐλίσσω* is for Euripides the vehicle of a to-and-fro circular dance (*χόρευε, μᾶτερ... / ἔλισσε τᾶδ' ἐκέισε Tr. 332f.*)¹²⁸. It appears in some of his choral projections to confer an archetypical cultic, orgiastic and Dionysian character¹²⁹. Maenads dance in such circles (*εἰλισσόμενας Μαινάδας Ba. 569f.*) as do other Dionysian maiden choruses (*εἰλισσών... χορὸς Ph. 234f.*), such as those around the altar of Artemis (*ἀμφὶ ναὸν, ἀνφὶ βωμόν IA 1480-82*)¹³⁰. In *Electra* 432-37 Dionysian Nereids¹³¹ accompany the Achaean ships to Troy, whereas a pipe-loving dolphin circles (*φίλαυλος... εἰλισσόμενος 435-37*) round the dark-blue prows. Nereids also leave the beautiful traces of their gyres inscribed on sea sand (*κἀλλιστον ἴχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός Tro. 3*)¹³². The din in the air of a whirled bull-roarer (*ρόμβου θ' εἰλισσόμενα / κύκλιος ἔνοσις αἰθερία Hel. 1362f.*) may also enlist dithyrambic choral imagery¹³³.

These craft metaphors play an important part in the final section of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, which was staged in 405, not long after Euripides' death. As Nelson (2018, 17) puts it, this is a miniature re-enactment of the larger festival competitions (*ἄγων σοφίας ὁ μέγας Ra. 884*). Therein Aeschylus and Euripides vie to decide who is the best skilled (*ὀπότερος εἶη τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος 780*). They submit themselves to Dionysus as judge who decides to weigh each of their lines (*Ra. 797*) as if they were cheeses (*τυροπωλῆσαι Ra. 1369*). Yet, prior to the contest, the choir introduces the two fighters: they are the mighty thunderer (*ἐριβρεμέτας 814*) versus the craftsman who whets his shrill-voiced tusk (*ὀξύλαλον... θήγοντος ὀδόντα 815*).

ἔσται δ' ἵππολόφων τε λόγων κορυθαίοια νείκη
σκινδαλάμων τε παραξόνια, σμιλεύματά τ' ἔργων
φωτὸς ἀμυνομένου φρενοτέκτονος ἀνδρὸς
ρήματα ἵπποβάμονα.
φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμου λοφιάς λασιαύχενά χαίταν
δεινὸν ἐπισκύνιον ξυνάγων, βρυχώμενος ἦσει
ρήματα γομποπαγῆ πινακηδὸν ἀποσπῶν
γηγενεῖ φυσήματι
ἔθθεν δὴ στοματοργὸς ἐπὼν βασανίστρια λίσπη
γλῶσσ' ἀνελισσομένη, φθονεροῦς κινουῖσα χαλινοῦς,
ρήματα δαιομένη καταλεπτολογήσει
πνευμόνων πολὺν πόνον (*Ra. 818-29*)

¹²⁸ Similar nuances can be perceived in *Ion* 1504f. and *Or.* 1294.

¹²⁹ For CSAPO (1999-2000, 422) «ἐλίσσειν and δινεῖν/δινεῦν are the poetic *voces propriae* for circular dance». On its Dionysian character, see NIKOLAIDOU-ARABATZI (2015, 28).

¹³⁰ Other instances are found in *El.* 180; *Heracl.* 690; *IT* 1143-45; *Ph.* 235; 315f.

¹³¹ Cf. B. 17, 101-108; see also NIKOLAIDOU-ARABATZI (2015, 31).

¹³² For a similar dance of Nereids see *IA* 1055-57.

¹³³ Pindar's main dithyrambic fragments (fr. 70b and 75) show a remarkable penchant for mystery and orgiastic cult. Among the typical elements cited are the *ρόμβοι τυπάνων* (fr. 70b, 9).

There will be a flashing-helmeted struggle of tall-crested words, there will be linchpins of slivers, and finely carved works, as the man fights off the galloping words of the craftsman of thoughts. Bristling his shaggy neck-hair on his hirsute chest, contracting a fearsome brow, with a roar he will utter morticed words, tearing them off as if timbers with his earth-born blast. Then the mouth-worker, the tester of words, a polished tongue whirling, will sort out – his envious thongs set in motion – and refine his utterances to the utmost, with much toil of his lungs.

The chorus opposes Aeschylus' grand, epic, and inspired diction¹³⁴ to Euripides' subtle minutiae, which are conveyed in sculptural, lathe metaphors. I argue that the reference for these metaphors is the Pindaric ἀκόνα, and the mention of the shrill whetted tusk is a meaningful cue. Euripides is a word chiseller (συμλεύματά τ' ἔργων 819) and mouth-worker (στοματουργός 826), who tests his own lines on a touchstone (ἐπὼν βασανίστρια 826). Moreover, his tongue whirls (γλῶσσο' ἀνελισσομένη 827) and the thongs (χαλινούς 827), commonly interpreted in reference to horse bits, rather allude to the straps of a lathe or auger, as is the case with E. *Cyc.* 462. The insistence on whetting (λίσπη 826) and polishing (καταλεπτολογήσει 828) also points to that direction. As a result, the original text in l. 819 (σχινδαλάμων τε παραξόνια), is no longer absurd nor does it require further emendation. Even the objection that «it might mean minute linchpins inserted in axles of extreme thinness»¹³⁵ befits well the miniature crafts (gem engraving, minting) alluded to, which demand tiny whetting wheels to be adjusted to proportional axles¹³⁶. Indeed, the chorus continues by describing Euripides as a minter of ideas (γνωμοτύπων 877). His utterances are polished to thinness (κατερρινημένον 902) and even reduced to whittlings (παραπρίσματ' ἐπὼν 881)¹³⁷. Euripides himself declares that he outlines and squares his words with thin measurements (λεπτῶν τε κανόνων... ἐπὼν τε γωνιασμούς 956). In clear contrast, Aeschylus is a builder of thought (820), whose utterances are monumental and hefty masonry¹³⁸. Moreover, his gigantic strength derives from divine inspiration, unlike Euripides' human, smart, and skilled (τορῶς 1102) effort.

The songs whereby Aeschylus parodies Euripidean style could not but contain his *Lieblingswort*¹³⁹. Referring now to the gyring spindle and the cross-craft of spinning and weaving, ἐλίσσω targets Euripides' penchant for feminine characters and unmanly οἰκειᾶ

¹³⁴ As SOMMERSTEIN (1996, 227) points out, Homeric compounds describe Aeschylus diction. A recent commentary on this passage in NAVARRO MARTÍNEZ (2017, 146-51).

¹³⁵ DOVER (1993, 293).

¹³⁶ See the thin Mughal lathe axle holding a tiny bit to whet gemstones in MORERO et al. (2017, 124; figs. 3-4, Album of Jahāngīr, AH 1019. Prague, Náprstek Museum).

¹³⁷ The words of each playwright are tested by using builder's tools and instruments (798-802). Similar instances of words used as raw and measurable material for masons and sculptors appear in Crates fr. 21 ἐπὶ τριπύχη and Plato Com. fr. 69 γωνιαίου ῥήματος. See NELSON (2018, 21).

¹³⁸ WRIGHT (2012, 118). They are as large as oxen or tower as high as mount Parnassus (*Ra.* 925; 957); similarly also Cratin. fr. 70 K.-A. and Pherecr. fr. 100 K.-A. On the image of the poet as architect in Aristophanes, see TAILLARDAT (1965, 438f.).

¹³⁹ WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1895, 159).

πράγματα (*Ra.* 959-61). Therefore, in the choral ode (*Ra.* 1309-22), the parody on *Electra* 432-37 turns the Nereids into spiders who weave, while the φίλαυλος (1317) dolphin dances. The comicality of the obstinate εἰειειειελίσσετε (1314) may well be enhanced by gyring dancers (cf. *Ar. Av.* 1379)¹⁴⁰. Conversely, in the monody of the housewife (*Ra.* 1331-66), the prolonged spinning (εἰειειελίσσουσα 1349) and frequent repetitions (φόνια φόνια 1336b, ἀνέπτατε ἀνέπτατ' 1352a, δάκρυα δάκρυα... / ἔβαλον ἔβαλον 1354f.) may caricature the vocalic modulations and similar “eccentricities” of the New Music¹⁴¹.

As can be seen from this review, the parodic warps sometimes allow technical metaphors inspired in a Pindaric dithyramb tradition, if not taken from Pindar himself, to emerge. This is also the case with the *Thesmophoriazousae*, which I argue, offers a most remarkable lathe metaphor. The choral ode (953-1000) which divides the parodic scenes on Euripides' *Helen* and *Andromeda*, is first launched as a circular ode (χώρει... εἰς κύκλον 953f.) honouring various deities. But it approaches the dithyramb at its end by invoking Dionysus to come and lead the dance. The god wears a wreath of winding ivy (κύκλω δὲ περὶ σὲ κισσός / εὐπέταλος ἔλικι θάλλει 999f.) symbolising, as in Pindar's odes, that the dancing revel is the very votive embellishment (κόσμος).

ἀλλ' εἶα πάλλ' ἀνάστρεφ' εὐρύθμω ποδί·
 τόρευε πᾶσαν ᾠδήν,
 ἡγοῦ δέ γ' ὄδ' αὐτός,
 σύ κισσοφόρε Βακχεῖε
 δέσποτ'· ἐγὼ δὲ κώμοις
 σὲ φιλοχόροισι μέλψω (*Th.* 985-89)

But, do leap, turn back with rhythmical pace; embellish the whole song, be our leader yourself, oh you ivy-wearing Bacchic one, our master; for I will sing your name to your dance-loving revels.

As the Muses and their whetstone were the inspiration for Pindar (*O.* 6, 82), it is now Dionysus and his lathe that serve as the source of inspiration and ritual enthusiasm. It is unclear whether the command πάλλ' ἀνάστρεφε simply refers to Dionysus' coming from Hades or if it is also an encouragement to dance. Grasping the exact meaning of τόρευε is a common problem. It may metaphorically mean 'to make the whole song whirl', or 'pierce loud and clear'¹⁴². But it could instead allude to an ornamental technique applied on a Pindaric chorus-vessel. On the one hand, the terms τορευτός and τόρευμα, referring to silver chiselling are documented not long thereafter¹⁴³. On the other hand, technical development in the fifth century enabled working on a smaller scale. Pheidias

¹⁴⁰ On the choral to weaving analogy see CARRUESCO (2016, 75, grid or web), and FANFANI (2017, 429, the tuneful κερκίς).

¹⁴¹ CSAPO (2004, 223). Repetitions are also frequent in the choruses of Euripides' final tragedies, as in, e.g., *Or.* 1373, 1381, 1390, 1395, 1415.

¹⁴² SOMMERSTEIN (1994, 220).

¹⁴³ Chiseled cups are first mentioned by Apollodorus of Gela (fr. 3, 2 K.-A. τορευτά... ποτήρια) and Menander (τορευτόν καὶ τορευτά fr. 438 K.-A.; τορευματα fr. 26, 2 K.-A.).

was considered the first to develop toreutics in the subsidiary gold reliefs of chryselephantine statues¹⁴⁴, and silver work is ascribed to Myron, Praxiteles and Scopas¹⁴⁵. Most of this incipient toreutics is lost and the only remnants are no more than lists of names and remarkable works¹⁴⁶. Yet later copies and neo-Attic relief sculpture preserve a set of Dionysian and dithyrambic iconography inspired by the sculptor Callimachus (Fig. 4) or late fifth century prototypes¹⁴⁷. Some instances (Figs. 5-6) let us imagine how actual Aristophanic references may have looked like.



Fig. 5. Volute krater by Sosibios. Detail of Bacchic thiasos (belly). Ivy garland twisting on final helichrysoi (neck). Pentelic marble. C. 50 BCE. Paris. Musée du Louvre MR 987. H. 78 cm. Photo © Courtesy of RMN / H. Lewandowski



Fig. 6. Kylix known as the 'Borghese Vase'. Bacchic thiasos under vine garland twisting at its ends. Pentelic marble. Mid-second century BCE. Paris. Musée du Louvre. H. 1,72 cm; D 135 cm. Photo © Courtesy of RMN/ H. Lewandowski

5. Conclusions: literature and sculpture/sculpture and literature

As an emblem of the artisan and mirror of a dancing chorus, the lathe and its related terms became a reference for poetic reflection and literary criticism in Greek poetry. Two moments proved crucial to the emergence and evolution of this image. The first coincides with Pindar. Like no poet had done before, he declared his condition to be that of a hired worker and, taking this idea further, he created a rich imagery to describe his own profession, depicting himself as the whetstone of the Muses. Therefore, the products of his profession were both movable and spoken ἀγάλματα since they were adorned with

¹⁴⁴ Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV 54: *primusque artem toreuticen aperuisse atque demonstrasse merito iudicatur.*

¹⁴⁵ Mart. IV 39; VIII 51. Theocritus V 104 assigns a bucolic pail to Praxiteles (κρατήρ, ἔργον Πραξιτέλους). GOW (1952, 110) identifies him with the well-known Athenian sculptor.

¹⁴⁶ Mys, Mentor, Thericles, Stratonicus, Myrmecides, Callicrates among others; see Plin. *Nat.* VII 85; XXXVI 154-56, Ath. XI 782b; 488c.

¹⁴⁷ POLLITT (1986, 169-73); prototypes in HAUSER (1889, pl. i-iii). A most interesting instance, dated to 415-386 BCE, is the fragmentary *Berliner Mänadenkrater*, as described by ZÜCHNER (1938).

many stories. In this way Pindar highlighted the living aspects of the mute but spoken written record and a tension between inspiration and skill, that was typical of the transitional moment from orality to literacy and the book trade¹⁴⁸.

For Pindar, poetry was still a dynamic phenomenon, which could be manifest in dance, music, and text. It lay in the hands of σοφοί endowed by nature (τὸ δὲ φύξ κράτιστον ἅπαν O. 9, 100), who needed no interpreter nor any taught skill (διδάκτ' N. 3, 41f.). Yet, when praising Rhodian sculptors and their excellent working hands (ἀριστοπόνοιοι χερσὶ *ibid.* 51), Pindar seems to admit that nature can be led to excellence by way of practice (δᾶντι δὲ καὶ σοφία μείζων ἄδολος τελέθει O. 7, 53)¹⁴⁹. Thus he proves himself receptive to the sophists' idea that verbal skills are acquirable, and that every human activity can possess a τέχνη that can further a natural talent (φύσις).

Conversely, the search for motion and vividness in contemporary sculpture, like those on the Rhodian streets lauded in *Olympian* 7 (ἔργα δὲ ζωοῖσιν ἐρπόντεσσι θ' ὁμοῖα 7, 52), denotes a reaction on the part of Greek artists to Pindar's "poetry in movement" and the traditional ποικίλα δαίδαλα. Indeed, some artistic innovations attempted to enliven mute matter, so as to represent motion and make anatomic details, psychological inner state, and three-dimensional space perceptible. According to Neer (2010, 85), these trends, which were common in sculpture from the last quarter of the fifth century onwards, aimed at inducing wonder in the mind of the viewer, similar to the way the Cretan chorus on the Shield of Achilles had once done. Contemporary sculptures may well have been in the minds of the Athenian playwrights when they evoked the prodigious artisan Daedalus.

Euripides openly admired the skilled – or now also 'wise' – man who imparted motion and loquacity to his statues (τὰ Δαίδαλεια πάντα κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ / λέγειν τ' ἀγάλαθ' ὦδ' ἀνήρ κείνος σοφός fr. 372, 2f. K)¹⁵⁰. Moreover, in *Hecuba* 836-38, where the supplicant heroin wishes that her every limb could speak as Daedalus allowed his statues to do, the name Daedalus even becomes a valid referent for ekphrastic poetry. Choral iconography round the walls of incipient toreutics, re-enacting the ecstatic dances of democratic and popular New Dithyramb every time the cup was circled and toasted¹⁵¹,

¹⁴⁸ SEGAL (1986, 153f.). WEST (2011, 66) concludes that «Pindar must have been accustomed to handling books» and was a real *poeta doctus*.

¹⁴⁹ On different interpretations and possible allusions to the Telchines, see O'SULLIVAN'S (2005, 96f.).

¹⁵⁰ It is difficult to evaluate a fragment of Aeschylus' *Theoroi* (fr. 78a, 1-21 Radt) where Daedalus' statues only lack a voice in order to become akin to a real-life person (τὸ Δαίδαλου μίμημα φωνῆς δεῖ μόνον 7). On the artisan's 'wise hand', see STIEBER (2011, 412). This thought was later defended by Posidonius, as we know from Seneca (*Ep.* 90, 11-33), who utterly disagrees and disdainfully opposes the primitive wisdom of Golden Age men when compared to the luxurious handicrafts of his age ('*omnia*' inquit [*scil. Posidonius*] '*haec sapiens quidem inuenit...*' [*Seneca*] *utilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt: sapientia altius sedet nec manus edocet* 90, 25).

¹⁵¹ Some late cage cups include mottos such as *bibe uiuas multis annis*/ΤΙΕ ΖΗΣΑΙΣ ΑΕΙ, see WHITEHOUSE (2015, figs. 19 to 35).

can be regarded as a compelling token in this evolution. Such iconography also attests to the wide spread of miniature formats¹⁵² to satisfy a more open and wider art market.

This artistic revolution coincided, I conclude, with the second crucial moment in the development of the lathe metaphor. The formal concern of the New Dithyramb, as is deduced from Aristophanic parodies, implies the aesthetic idea that poetry was like «a physical object whose construction and appearance would be described in exact detail»¹⁵³. Moreover, the craft images, of a descriptive nature in Pindar and Euripides (either in choral reflections and projections, or as technical similes), also became evaluative.¹⁵⁴ They focused not only on the performance of actors but also on the very process of composition and writing, as I will argue in the second part of this study on Hellenistic and Augustan poetry. This process, which took the ἀκόνα-inspiration simile and chiselling the Shield of Achilles by Hephaestus as its referent, was marked by toil (πόνος), refinement (λεπτότης), skill (τορός) and miniaturisation.

¹⁵² Displayed in toreutics, signet rings, coins and cameos, its potential for propaganda was paramount. On the engraver Pyrgoteles and official portrait, see POLLITT (1986, 23).

¹⁵³ See WRIGHT (2012, 117) on what he calls the ‘literalization’ of Old Comedy meta-poetical metaphors.

¹⁵⁴ WRIGHT (2012, 105).

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